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They'd Rather Be Dead Than In The Red

The Walker affair promises to blow up into a full scale assault from the right. *Life Magazine* (Oct. 6) carries an editorial, "Fair Play for Gen. Walker," which does not mention his membership in the John Birch Society. It criticizes Senator Fulbright for the memorandum in which he called the Defense Department's attention to the way military men are spreading rightest ideas in public seminars, usually in association with crackpot outfits. As *Life* prefers to phrase it, Fulbright "particularly abhors their involvement in the various anti-Communist crusades and educational [sic] movements which have been spreading in the U.S. for the past few years." *Life* thinks this "as phony a worry as could well be added to the burdens of an anxious republic."

Just What Eisenhower Warned Against

On the contrary we believe the Fulbright memorandum and Secretary McNamara's praiseworthy efforts to put some curb on the military only begin to touch a formidable problem. The dimensions of that problem are indicated by the document we publish on page two this week from the *Army Navy Air Force Journal* of Sept. 30, the only place it has appeared in full. This is the 1961 Statement of Policy adopted by the Air Force Association in Philadelphia recently. This Association is spokesman for the aviation-missile industry and for the Air Force. It represents the most dynamic segment of the forces which thrive on the arms race. Its statement of policy illustrates the dangers to which President Eisenhower referred when in his farewell address Jan. 17 he warned against the "conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry."

The document shows that this military-industrial alliance has fashioned an ideology to serve its interests. It is out to remake our politics, our views of history, and our morality. It calls, of course, for higher expenditures all along the line of the aircraft-missile program. It asks new substitutes for the U-2. It wants the primary emphasis in the space program to be on military uses.

It advocates a sky's-the-limit arms race. It has no use for disarmament, balanced deterrents or arms control of any kind. "There is no reason to believe," it says, "that nuclear weapons, no matter how they may increase in numbers and ferocity, mark the end of the line in military systems development." It wants national policy to "prescribe that the choice between nuclear and non-nuclear weapons is neither moral nor political." It says "We must be willing and able to risk war" and the goal it sets is "complete eradication of the Soviet system." It is on these "new terms" that it wants the American people mobilized. Where the President said, "we must never fear to negotiate," it says "we must never fear to *refuse* to negotiate." This is a call for total mobilization for total war. It regards co-existence as a trap, negotiation as a delusion and peaceful agreement as impossible. These are the views one would expect from an industry whose expansion would be stunted by arms control, whose very existence would be threatened by complete disarmament. *It would rather be dead than in the red.*

A large contingent of Generals headed by Air Force Chief of Staff Curtis Le May attended the convention, but none took exception to these sanguinary views. It is only a step from the premises of the Air Force Association to Birch Society suspicions of any President, whether Eisenhower or Kennedy, who enters into negotiation with the Soviets. Yet privately the Generals seem to have indicated their agreement. The *Army Navy Air Force Journal* said they came to the meeting "under wraps that had been put on at the Pentagon" and it reported that one Air Force General "spilled the beans" when he told the convention that after all the blue-pencilling done on his speech at the Pentagon, "I don't have a hell of a lot to say." Industrial-military organizations like the Air Force Association are set up to say for the big brass what they cannot say for themselves in public without appearing insubordinate. What they say portends tragedy if some way is not found to stop them.

How to Poison the Public Mind

This is a report on a wayward piece of journalism and on trouble-making by the German Ambassador to Washington. In the New York Times Sunday, Oct. 8, Max Frankel turned in a black report on the Kennedy-Gromyko conversations and it reverberated pessimism around the world. He did not give his source but later the same day the German Ambassador, Wilhelm Grewe, appeared on an ABC TV show, "Issues and Answers," and, when asked, said he agreed with the Frankel story that the talks had gone badly and indeed represented a step backward. When U.S. and British correspondents checked, not a single State Dept. or White House source confirmed this account. Indeed next day Pierre Salinger allowed himself to be quoted as saying, "it is incorrect to say that the talks have gone sour." In Monday morning's story Frankel identified the source of his Sunday account as "some Allied diplomats." Was the German Ambassador himself the source of the Frankel account, which Grewe cutely endorsed on TV the same afternoon? The not-for-attribution, use-it-but-don't-quote-me story is the curse of Washington journalism and this was a particularly flagrant example. We believe Mr. Frankel and the New York Times owe readers an explanation.

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Full Text of the Air Force Association 1961 Policy Statement

American People Must Be Mobilized for "Complete Eradication" of Soviets

The document we present here in full text, a call for total war and perpetual arms race, is the statement of policy adopted by the Air Force Association at its recent meeting in Philadelphia September 20 to 24. Meager newspaper accounts failed to give the full flavor of this extraordinary pronouncement which clashes directly with national policy, notably on Berlin and disarmament. The Air Force Association, financed by the aviation-missile industry and staffed largely by retired officers, gives the Air Force a mouthpiece through which it can circumvent censorship and undercut the White House.

In this, our 15th anniversary year, with the nation in grave peril, we respectfully acknowledge the heavy responsibility that weighs upon our new Commander in Chief—a burden that is his alone. And we are well aware that it is far easier to advise than to decide.

Nevertheless, we would be remiss in our duty as Americans were we not to state, particularly at this time, our deeply held beliefs, our aims and our objectives. We offer them here, together with our pledge of personal effort and sacrifice to achieve them, in this 1961 Statement of Policy of the Air Force Association.

Power Equation

If the record of 40 years of oppression, aggression, deceit and duplicity had not already done so, events of the past several weeks have made it abundantly clear that the Soviet system—regardless of what form it may take at any given time in any given part of the world—is incompatible with the existence of freedom.

The cloak of co-existence no longer conceals Soviet aims. Communist intent and Communist power stand naked before the world. We must face the Soviet system with the only force it understands and respects—even stronger power, accompanied by the avowed determination to use this power when and if needed.

Freedom or Communism

Mankind cannot exist indefinitely in a world that remains half-slave and half-free. Preservation of the status quo is not adequate as a national goal. Freedom must bury Communism or be buried by Communism.

Complete eradication of the Soviet system must be our national goal—our obligation to all free people—our promise of hope to all who are not free.

National Alert

To attain the level of national power needed in this crusade, the energies and talents of the American people must be mobilized on new terms. We therefore petition the President to declared a National Alert—a new and higher level of national effort. Such a declaration would establish a basis on which to build and maintain the power we need. It would make clear to the Soviets and to the world that we are determined to back our words with action, even at the risk of war—that we seek not merely to preserve our freedoms but to extend them.

A Credible Deterrent

The overriding priority of the day must be the unquestioned credibility of our nuclear deterrent. This credibility has been undermined by Soviet confidence in its own rising strength and by Soviet belief that the U.S. is unwilling to engage in nuclear war in behalf of freedom.

A credible deterrent will require accelerated military programs now and in the future. We consider the following to be basic:

Greater survivability for our strategic striking forces; airborne alert for a substantial portion of the Strategic Air Command; expansion of our manned bomber programs, including rapid development and production of the B-70 as a high priority weapon system; acceleration of our strategic missile programs in terms of numbers and effectivness; improved intelligence and reconnaissance systems, both aeronautical and space-borne, to obtain more information on Soviet capabilities and intentions, and to guard against surprise nuclear attack; greater reliability and survivability of the national command and control system to reduce the chances of war by error, and to ensure immediate, effective, and sustained employment of our forces; equipping our aerospace defense system to counter the full spectrum of the Soviet aerospace threat as evidenced by Soviet progress in supersonic bombers, missiles and trained aerospace systems; increase of our ability to deter or promptly prevail in situations short of general war; accelerated research and development efforts to attain and maintain technological superiority in areas of our choice.

National Space Program

Currently, our National Space Program gives priority to non-military applications. It fails to recognize the important contributions that space systems must make to the extension of our military capability. This faulty emphasis must be reversed to utilize U.S. space technology as a prime factor in the international power equation. All phases of the national space program must *first* be measured against the yardstick of national security needs.

Nuclear Employment

National policy must make it abundantly clear that the U.S. will not hesitate to employ its nuclear strength in response to Soviet aggression—whether that aggression takes the form of nuclear attack, non-nuclear attack, nuclear blackmail, aggression by Soviet satellite nations, infiltration or subversion—should the military situation dictate that use of nuclear weapons is in the best interest of the U.S.

National policy must prescribe that the choice between nuclear and non-nuclear weapons is neither moral nor political, but is essentially a military consideration. If this principle is not recognized as national policy and firmly enunciated to the world, we are seriously compromising the effectiveness of our nuclear arsenal and thus increasing the danger of general conflict.

Survival of the People

The National Alert program must also ensure the survival of the majority of the American people and the survival of viable government machinery in the event of general war. Needed measures include protection of individuals, military and civilian, against blast, heat and radiation—including fallout. They must provide for re-establishment of the national social and economic fabric following a general war.

The Only Insurance

The ability to fight, win, and purposefully survive a general nuclear war provides the best, indeed the only, insurance against such an eventuality. We must be willing and able to risk war, and make sure that both our willingness and ability are firmly implanted in the minds of the Soviet leaders. Only from such a position can we then apply economic, diplomatic, technological and other pressures against the Soviets.

To those who say that today such a position cannot be sustained, that deterrent capability cannot be achieved, that it deteriorates into a stalemate of bluff—to these arguments we reply, "Your stalemate philosophy of despair and defeat [sic]. Its acceptance by the U.S. would in itself break the 'stalemate' in a psychological sense—and in favor of the Soviets. World leadership would automatically revert to the loudest rocket-rattler. Initiative would pass to the aggressor.

The President has said, "We must never negotiate through fear. But we must never fear to negotiate." In turn, we must never fear to refuse to negotiate that which is *not* negotiable. We must never compromise basic principles. We must never appease.

Technological Realities

The stalemate philosophy ignores the realities of technological progress. The advent of nuclear weapons has changed the international power equation. But technology can also wipe out equations and write new ones. It has done so in the past.

There is no reason to believe that nuclear weapons, no matter how they may increase in numbers and ferocity, mark the end of the line in military systems development. New weapons, more selective in application and less destructive of life and property, may come into being. Their possession by one side and not the other could surely break a nuclear stalemate in a dramatic fashion. Thus, the search for new and advanced systems must have a high priority in our military research and development.

The People Are Ready

We believe the events in this fall of 1961 have convinced the American people, if any were unconvinced before, that Soviet aims are both evil and implacable. We believe the people are willing and eager to respond to whatever level of effort may be required of them, if the need is made truly clear. We are convinced that the people are ready to work toward, and fight for if necessary, the elimination of Communism from the world scene. Let the issue be joined.

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A Suburbanite GOP Leader Invokes Darwin To Say What Henry Luce Dare Not

Those Who Can't Afford Bomb Shelters — Do They Deserve to Die?

Adjoining Washington, in suburban Montgomery County, Maryland, a group of junior executive types led by a Princeton graduate named David Scull some years ago ran a successful revolt inside the Republican party and took over from the old courthouse crowd. Mr. Scull writes a column in the *Montgomery County Sentinel*. The one in the issue of September 21 was headed "Darwin Was Right." It discussed the recent issue of *Life* which assured the country that 97% of all Americans could survive a nuclear war. "Of course," Mr. Scull wrote, "the President and the Editors of *Life* know that millions will die unnecessarily in the event of such a war, but. . . .

"From a purely Darwinian point of view, it probably will not be calamitous . . . if ten million or so of our sloppier citizens disappear as a result of their own lack of ability or will to survive. Many of these second class human beings are the ones who are right now asking what the fuss is all about in Berlin. They haven't the wit to understand that Western Civilization, human freedom and the dignity of man are on trial at the Brandenburg Gate."

We suspect such views are all too common in the country club set. The premise of the private shelter program, as begun under Eisenhower and taken over by Kennedy, is that in the event of thermonuclear war each citizen must provide his own protection and be his own Secretary of Defense; the Defense Department, so-called, turns out to be for Offense only. This approach is favored by the Generals, who fear diversion of appropriations to civil defense, and by higher bracket taxpayers, who can afford to build their own shelters and do not see why they should be taxed to provide them for those who can't. This is the same "rugged individualist" philosophy advocated 30 years ago in the Great Depression. It is smugly assumed that the country would be better off if the "unfit" die. Then it was by hunger, now it will be by thermonuclear war. This application of a pseudo-Darwinianism to oppose welfare measures is as old as Victorianism, and its use to justify war at least as old as Kaiser Germany. We should be grateful to this obscure suburban Bismarck for bringing into the open an idea not quite suitable for presentation in full color photographs by mass circulation picture weeklies. He makes us feel it will be a positive misfortune if war does not break out after all.

Mr. Scull's disapproval extends beyond the poor and shiftless. He suggests that the "second class human beings" we could do without also include those who doubt that Berlin is worth a thermonuclear war. To deal with this group requires another order of sacrifice. A mimeographed form being distributed by Montgomery County Civil Defense at PTA meetings lists Mr. Scull's real estate firm, Sterling & Scull, as builders of fallout shelters and suppliers of energy foods to stock them. Would Mr. Scull be willing to set an example, to launch a new patriotic campaign, to open a Second Front in the battle of civil defense, by rejecting orders from customers whose views on Berlin have not first been certified as upstanding?

Next Step in the Communist Case

Applications for a rehearing are little more than a ritualistic gesture in the Supreme Court, and its refusal last Monday to reconsider its decision in the Communist Party registration case was no surprise. But that decision, as we explained at the time, only marks the beginning of a prolonged legal fight. So far the Court has merely held that an order to register is not unconstitutional. It has yet to decide whether under the Fifth amendment it can actually force any officer or member to register himself or sign a registration statement, since this would be requiring a man to acknowledge activities and associations which might incriminate him. In the decision last spring, the four Justices held that this would be a clear violation of the Fifth amendment. The other five dodged the question, holding that they did not have to decide this until a failure to register was before it. When that question comes before the Court the majority may shift the other way, as we hope it will. For this registration statute holds the seeds of danger to the peace movement and to dissent of all kinds.

U.S. Intelligence Tries Hard to Prove Mrs. K Wrong About Soviet Shelters

"Moscow, Oct. 6 (AP)—Mrs. Nikita Khrushchev told a group of Western 'peace marchers' today that the Soviet Union is making no effort to build air raid shelters. 'There is no defense in a nuclear war,' said the wife of the Premier. 'Therefore we are not building any bomb shelters. We are not getting ready.'"

—Washington Evening Star, Oct 6

"There is no evidence of shelter construction in large Soviet cities. There are no signs posted in Moscow streets, pointing to shelters, as in New York, and there are no siren tests or other such rehearsals."

—Moscow dispatch, New York Times, Oct. 7

"If Mrs. Nikita Khrushchev really doesn't know that the Soviet Union has an extensive civil defense program, U.S. intelligence officers will be glad to give her some facts and figures. . . . Information on the program was pulled together recently for the Office of Civil Defense Mobilization, now the Office of Emergency Planning. . . .

"The memo concedes that U.S. information on Soviet shelters is 'far from conclusive.' But, it continues, the indications are that the inclusion of 'protective construction features' in new apartment houses and other new buildings 'has been a standard practice in many centers of population and industry. Basement shelter' already is available 'to an important segment of the urban population in many areas of the USSR,' the report states.

"The memo concludes that the Soviet civil defense system may be 'considerably less than adequate in terms of defense against large-scale nuclear warfare' but the Communists obviously are trying hard."

—Story by David Barnett sent out by North American Newspaper Alliance, Washington Star, Oct. 8.

"According to a number of newspaper reporters, there is no sign of any fallout shelter beyond that provided by the subways of Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev, each of which could possibly provide for about 20 percent of the population. It is interesting to note that the Rand witness [before the recent Holifield shelter hearings] also stated that the Moscow subways could shelter two million people, whereas a Library of Congress study calculates that, at 20 square feet per capita (the U.S. long-stay estimate), they could only handle 375,000. Dividing the 7,500,000 square feet of track and station by two million indicates 3.75 square feet per capita; apparently the sturdy Muscovites are capable of standing (sitting would require six square feet) in the same position, motionless, for two weeks or so, while engaging in all of those basic processes essential to human survival!"

—J. David Singer on "Deterrence and Shelters" in Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, October, 1961.

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J. Edgar Challenged on Crime; Hollywood Blacklist Hit in SEP By One of "The Ten"

Despite Berlin Crisis, West Germany Doing Boom Business With Soviets

While West Germany clamors for a strong U.S. policy toward Russia ("let's you and him fight"), it continues to do a booming business with the Soviet bloc. Figures released here by the Dept. of Commerce show that West Germany is by far the bloc's chief Western supplier. During 1960 and the first half of 1961, West German exports to the Soviet bloc were twice as large as Britain's and four times as great as those of the U.S. The totals (in millions) were West Germany: $1,135; Britain, $572; U.S., $293. The Commerce Dept. release was designed to mollify rightist critics. It showed the total of export licenses granted for U.S. business with the Soviets during the first six months of this year was 50 percent below the comparable Eisenhower period. West German exports hold steady despite Berlin.

Where Dodd Got His Inside Dope?

"The State Dept. said yesterday that it has cancelled the visa of Michel Struelens, a Belgian who heads the Katanga Information Service in the U.S. Struelens has maintained an office in New York but has been a frequent visitor to Washington. He registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act with the Justice Dept. Struelens reported that the Katanga government headed by Moise Tshombe gave him $140,000 in the last year as operating expenses. . . .

"Among Senators whom Struelens contacted was Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D. Conn.) who spoke vigorously on the Senate floor in support of Katanga independence and charged that many Congolese officials were pro-Communist."

—Washington Post and Times-Herald, Oct. 5

Local Constable Problem

John Crosby's column in the *New York Herald-Tribune* Oct. 2 and the reply it elicited from J. Edgar Hoover Oct. 6 are collector's items for two reasons. One is the rarity of any attack on the G-man in the U.S. press, which would as soon advocate atheism. The other is the extraordinary defense on which the FBI Chief fell back. Mr. Crosby was annoyed by one of those pompously melodramatic radio commercials by Mr. Hoover exhorting the listener to cooperate against "the ever increasing surge of crime." Mr. Crosby pointed out that every time someone suggests a national police force to deal with the nationwide crime syndicates, Mr. Hoover shoots the idea down "and so docile is the press at accepting your word on police matters that all attempts to grapple with organized crime on a national level have been successfully throttled." Mr. Crosby contrasted with this Mr. Hoover's constant flow of warnings about baby-sitters, "smut salesmen" and juvenile delinquents. "Nowhere in the world," Mr. Crosby wrote, "is crime more profitable, better organized or less bothered by law enforcement than in the U.S. and you have been the top cop in this country for 36 years. How do you explain that?" Mr. Hoover replied that the column was "degrading to the code of the journalistic profession," but explained weakly, "Fundamentally crime is a local problem." This will give the G-man new fame as a wit in Las Vegas and Miami.

SIGN OF THE TIMES CALCULATED TO MAKE AMERICAN LEGIONNAIRES SEE RED-UNDER-THE-BED: The *Saturday Evening Post,* perhaps reverting to the radicalism of its founder, B. Franklin, has just appeared (Oct. 14) with an article by Ring Lardner, Jr., one of the Hollywood Ten, entitled "My Life on The Blacklist," an engaging and unrepentant expose of how Hollywood's ostracized writers have managed to live. Who would have dreamt a few years ago that one of the Hollywood Ten would be telling his story in the SEP and that the SEP would print that story as part of a desperate campaign for new look, new readers and new advertising? We rise with fraternal hand to welcome a new competitor left of center. We love feeling crowded for a change.

REUNION ON THE OLD (strike that) ON THE NEW FRONTIER: "[Secretary of the Treasury] Douglas Dillon, for instance, would certainly have been Secretary of State if Nixon had won the election—" Joseph Alsop (Oct. 9). "John A. McCone [Kennedy's interim appointment as CIA Chief] would probably have become Secretary of Defense had Nixon, a close friend, been elected President."—Thomas O'Neill, Baltimore Sun (Oct. 6). Couldn't a place be found for Dicky, too?

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